Gazette of the United States.

PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS BY *JOHN FENNO*, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, NEW-YORK.

[No. XCIII.] WEDNESDAY, MARCH, 3, 1790. PRICE *THREE* DOLLARS PR. ANN.

☞ *For the TABLET see third page.*

From the AMERICAN MERCURY.

The APOLOGIZER——No. II.

AS my enquiries are extended into the nature of anti-federaliſm, and of the motives which actuate ſuch people, I become more convinced, that my deſign of a general apology for them is very meritorious, and ought to have been made long ago; and I cannot conceive the reaſon why it hath never been publicly attempted, unleſs it be the excreme difficulty of an inveſtigation. In all other political ſubjects a writer may deduce his arguments and leading principles, from public utility, and from a number of moral maxims, which the courteſy of the world hath for many ages allowed to be ſacred; but on attempting I find theſe ſources fail me; to ſupply the want, I muſt have recourſe, in my own meditations, to the ſituation, abilities, particular intereſts, and paſſions of certain characters; this method of actual experiment, I conceive to be a ſure way of coming to the truth, but the progreſs is ſlow, and the public patience may be exhauſted before the completion of this undertaking.

The laſt anti-federal ſubject, which I have had under inſpection, furniſhed me ſome curious information in what philoſophers have called, the ſcale of being, or a ſeries of exiſtencies with increaſing ſenſe and reaſon, from an oyſter up to thoſe genii of the air, which can play with mountains and hurricanes as a child doth with a rattle box. To my great ſuprize I found this gentleman, under a natural neceſſity, of being anti-federal or diſhoneſt, and I can now aſſure my readers upon the ſtrength of this experiment, that the popular opinion of at leaſt a ſmall degree of roguery, being at the bottom of anti-federaliſm, is not true in all caſes, for I have found one honeſt man in this claſs of people, and whenever I find another, notice ſhall be given of the diſcovery. In this examination nothing appeared different from what is found in other men, except a ſtrange limitation of all the ſeeing and judging faculties within very narrow dimenſions.

The mind acted and judged vigorouſly on ſmall objects, but was utterly incapable of extending its views to the policy of a nation, or the benefit of ſo great a number of people as inhabit the United States; neither could he conceive any kind of advantage from a communication between people ſo diſtant in ſituation. He feared much the ſame conſequences from the union, as might happen from building a bridge to the moon, which would only ſerve as a paſs way for lunatics and other dangerous enemies. After attempting a whole day to enlarge his underſtanding, I found my work in vain, and that no man can ſee further than nature has enabled him. From this I have taken the hint to form a ſcale of minds, which I have thrown into four grand diviſions, viz.

Pariſh intellects,
County intellects,
State intellects, and
Federal intellects.

The ſub-diviſions in each of theſe claſſes, muſt be formed from future experiments, and when the ſcale is compleated, I think it will be an infallible guide to all honeſt electors.

I would humbly propoſe to the reſpectable public, that when the ſcale is completed, the party terms of whig and tory, federal and anti-federal, republican and democrat, ſhould be thrown aſide, and every man's political opinions be deſcribed by the ſcale of his intellects. Names of men's invention cauſe much offence in the world; but I think no man can be offended, when we deſcribe him by the ſtandard of nature itſelf. Where there is no reaſon for blame there ought not to be any odium. Nature has made monkies, men and angels—ſtill we know that a monkey is not a man, nor a man an angel—each of theſe grades are made to ſee, move and be happy in the communion of their own order; and ſhould we deſcribe to a monkey the community of angels, with their conſtitution and laws, *Pug* would very honeſtly be anti-federal, and declare off from the union.

BON MOT.

A PERSON ſoliciting a citizen to be ſecurity to a friend of his for 500l. mentioned amongſt other circumſtances as teſtimonials of his credit, &c. that he had been twice round the world with Capt. Cook. If that is the caſe, replied the former, I would not be ſecurity for ſo many farthings for him! For he that would ſubmit, for a trifling conſideration, to be penned up in a compaſs of a few yards, twice three years together, would not value lying in goal all his life time for 500l.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, FEB. 18, 1790.

IN Committee of the whole, on the Report of the Secretary of the Treaſury. Mr. Madiſon's motion for a diſcrimination, ſtill under conſideration.

MR. MADISON next roſe, and obſerved, that the opponents of his propoſition had impoſed on its friends not only a heavy taſk, by the number of their objections, but a delicate one by the nature of ſome of them. It had been arraigned as embarraſſing meaſures which ought to be facilitated, and producing diſcuſſions which might end in diſagreeable conſequences. However painful it might be to contradict the wiſhes of gentlemen, whom he reſpected, he could promiſe nothing more, in the preſent caſe, than his endeavors to diſappoint their apprehenſions. When his judgment could not yield to the propoſitions of others, the right to make and ſupport his own was a right which he could never ſuffer to be conteſted. In exerciſing it, he had ſtudied to maintain that moderation and liberality which were due to the greatneſs of the ſubject before the committee. He felt pleaſure in acknowledging, that the like ſpirit had in general directed the arguments on the other ſide. Free diſcuſſions, thus conducted, were not only favorable to a right deciſion, but to a cheerful acquieſcence of the miſtaken opponents of it. They might have the further advantage of recommending the reſult to the public, by fully explaining the grounds of it. If the pretenſions of a numerous and meritorious claſs of citizens be not well founded, or cannot be complied with, let them ſee that this is the caſe—and be ſoothed, under their diſappointment, with the proof that they have not been overlooked by their country.

He proceeded to review the grounds on which the propoſition had been combated; which, he ſaid, he ſhould do without either following thoſe who had wandered from the field of fair argument, or avoiding thoſe who had kept within its limits.

It could not have eſcaped the committee, that the gentlemen to whom he was oppoſed, had reaſoned on this momentous queſtion, as on an ordinary caſe in a court of law; that they had equally ſtrained all the maxims that could favor the purchaſing, or be adverſe to the original holder; and that they had dwelt with equal pleaſure on every circumſtance which could brighten the pretenſions of the former, or diſcredit thoſe of the latter. He had not himſelf attempted, nor did he mean to undervalue the pretenſions of the actual holders: In ſtating them he had even uſed as ſtrong terms as they themſelves could have dictated; but beyond a certain point he could not go. He muſt renounce every ſentiment which he had hitherto cheriſhed, before his complaiſance could admit that America ought to erect the monuments of her gratitude, not to thoſe who ſaved her liberties, but to thoſe who had enriched themſelves in her funds.

All that he wiſhed was, that the claims of the original holders, not leſs than thoſe of the actual holders, ſhould be fairly examined and juſtly decided. They had been invalidated by nothing yet urged. A debt was fairly contracted: according to juſtice and good faith, it ought to have been paid in gold or ſilver: A piece of paper only was ſubſtituted. Was this paper equal in value to gold or ſilver? No: It was worth in the market, which the argument for the purchaſing holders makes the criterion, no more than one-eighth, or one-ſeventh of that value. Was this depreciated paper freely accepted? No: The government offered that or nothing. The relation of the individual to the government, and circumſtances of the offer, rendered the acceptance a forced, not a free one. The ſame degree of conſtraint would viciate a tranſaction between man and man, before any court of equity on the face of the earth. There are even caſes where conſent cannot be pretended; where the property of the planter or farmer has been taken at the point of the bayonet, and a certificate preſented in the ſame manner. But why did the creditors part with their acknowledgment of the debt? In ſome inſtances from neceſſity—in others from a well-founded diſtruſt of the public. Whether from one or the other, they had been injured; they had ſuffered loſs through the default of the debtor, and the debtor cannot, in juſtice or honor, take advantage of the default.

Here then was a debt acknowledged to have been once due, and which was never diſcharged, becauſe the payment was forced and defective. The balance conſequently is ſtill due, and is of as ſacred a nature as the claims of the purchaſing holder can be; and if both are not to be paid in the whole, is equally entitled to payment in part.

He begged gentlemen would not yield too readily to the artificial niceties of forenſic reaſoning; that they would conſider not the form, but the ſubſtance; not the letter, but the equity; not the bark, but the pith of the buſineſs. It was a great and an extraordinary caſe. It ought to be decided on the great and fundamental principles of juſtice. He had been animadverted upon, for appealing to the heart as well as the head: He would be bold, nevertheleſs, to repeat, that, in great and unuſual queſtions of morality, the heart is the beſt caſuiſt.

It had been ſaid, by a Member from Maſſachuſetts, that the propoſition was founded on a new principle in Congreſs. If the preſent Congreſs be meant, that is not ſtrange, for Congreſs itſelf is new: If the former Congreſs be meant, it is not true, for the principle is found in an act which had been already cited. After the pay of the army had, during the war, been nominally and legally diſcharged in depreciated paper, the loſs was made up to the ſufferers.

It had been ſaid, by a member from New-York, that the caſe was not parallel, there being no third party like the preſent holder of certificates. This objection could not be valid. The government paid ten dollars, worth in fact but one, to a ſoldier: the ſoldier was the original holder. The ſoldier aſſigned it to a citizen: the citizen then became the actual holder. What was the event? The loſs of the original holder was repaired, after the actual holder had been ſettled with according to the higheſt market value of this paper.

He did not mean, however, to decide on the whole merits of this laſt tranſaction, or to contend for a ſimilitude, in all reſpects, between the two kinds of paper. One material difference was that the bills of credit, by more frequent tranſfers, and by dividing the change of value among a great number of hands, rendered the effect of leſs conſequence to individuals, and leſs ſenſible to the public mind. But this difference, whatever force it might give to the claims of the purchaſing holder of certificates, could diminiſh nothing from the claims of the original holders who had aſſigned them.

It had been ſaid by another member, from Maſſachuſetts, that the old government did every thing in its power. It made requiſitions, uſed exhortations, and in every reſpect diſcharged its duty; but it was to be remembered, that the debt was not due from the government, but the United States. An attorney with full powers to form, without the means to fufil engagements, could never by his ineffectual, though honeſt efforts, exonerate his principal.

He had been repeatedly reminded of the addreſs of Congreſs in 1783, which rejected a diſcrimination between original and purchaſing holders. At that period, the certificates to the army, and citizens at large, had not been iſſued. The transfers were confined to loan-office certificates, were not numerous, and had been in great part made with little loſs to the original creditor. At preſent the transfers extend to a vaſt proportion of the whole debt, and the loſs to the original holders has been immenſe. The injuſtice which has taken place has been enormous and flagrant, and makes redreſs a great national object. This change of circumſtances deſtroys the argument from the act of Congreſs referred to; but if implicit regard is to be paid to the doctrines of that act, any modification of the intereſt of the debt will be as inadmiſſible as a modification of the principal.

It had been ſaid, that if the loſſes of the original creditors are entitled to reparation, Congreſs ought to repair thoſe who ſuffered from paper money, from the ravages of the war, and from the act barring claims not produced within a limited time. As to the paper money, either the caſe is applicable or it is not: if not applicable, the argument falls; if applicable, either the depreciated certificates ought to be liquidated by a like ſcale, as was applied to the depreciated money, or the money, even if the whole maſs of it was ſtill in circulation, ought now to be literally redeemed like the certificates. Leaving the gentleman to make his own choice out of theſe dilemmas, he would only add, himſelf, that if there were no other difference between the caſes, the manifeſt impoſſibility of redreſſing the one, and the practicability of redreſſing the other, was a ſufficient anſwer to the objection. With reſpect to the towns burnt, and other devaſtations of war, it was taught by the writers on the law of nations, that they were to be numbered among the inevitable calamities of mankind. Still, however, a government owed them every alleviation which it could conveniently afford: but no authority could be found that puts on the ſame footing with thoſe calamities, ſuch as proceed from a failure to fulfil the direct and expreſs obligations of the public. The juſt claims barred by the act of limitation were, in his opinion, clearly entitled to redreſs. That act was highly objectionable. The public which was intereſted in ſhortening the term, undertook to decide that no claim, however juſt, ſhould be admitted, if not preſented within nine months. The act made none of the exceptions uſual in ſuch acts, nor even in favor of the moſt diſtant parts of the union. In many inſtances it had been abſolutely impoſſible for the perſons injured to know of the regulation. Some of theſe inſtances were within his own knowledge. To limit the duration of a law to a period within which it could not poſſibly be promulged, and then take advantage of the impoſſibility, would be imitating the Roman tyrant, who poſted up his edicts ſo high that they could not be read, and then puniſhed the people for not obeying them.

It had been ſaid, that if the purchaſed certificates were funded at the rate propoſed, they would fall in the market, and the holders be injured. It was pretty certain that the greater part, at leaſt, would be gainers. He believed that the higheſt market rate, eſpecially with the arrears of intereſt incorporated, well funded at 6 per cent. would prevent every loſs that could juſtify complaint.

But foreigners had become purchaſers, and ought to be particularly reſpected. Foreigners, he remarked, had themſelves made a difference between the value of the foreign and domeſtic debt: they would therefore the leſs complain of a difference by the government here. It was his opinion that the terms ſtated in the propoſition, would yield a greater profit to the foreign purchaſers than they could have got for their money advanced by them in any of the funds of Europe.

The propoſition had been charged with robbing one ſet of men to pay another. If there were robbery in the caſe, it had been committed on the original creditors. But, to ſpeak more accurately, as well as more moderately, the propoſition would do no more than withold a part from each of two creditors, where both were not to be paid the whole.

A member from New-York had aſked whether an original creditor, who had aſſigned his certificates could in conſcience accept a re-imburſement in the manner propoſed? He would not deny that aſſignments might have been made with ſuch explanations, or under ſuch circumſtances, as would have that effect. But in general the aſſignments had been made with reference merely to the market value, and the uncertainty of the ſteps that might be taken by the government. The bulk of the creditors had aſſigned under circumſtances from which no ſcruples could ariſe. In all caſes where a ſcruple exiſted, the benefit of the proviſion might be renounced. He would in turn aſk the gentleman, whether there was not more room to apprehend that the preſent holder, who had got his certificate of a diſtreſſed and meritorious fellow-citizen, for one-eighth or one-tenth of its ultimate value, might not feel ſome remorſe in retaining ſo unconſcionable an advantage?

Similar propoſitions, it was ſaid, had been made and rejected in the ſtate legiſlatures. This was not fact. The propoſitions made in the ſtate legiſlatures were not intended to do juſtice to the injured, but to ſeize a profit to the public.

But no petitions for redreſs had come from the ſufferers. Was merit then to be the leſs regarded, becauſe it was modeſt? Perhaps, however, another explanation ought to be given. Many of the ſufferers were poor and uninformed. Thoſe of another deſcription were ſo diſperſed, that their intereſts and efforts could not be brought together. The caſe of the purchaſing holders was very different.

The conſtitutionality of the propoſition had been drawn into queſtion. He aſked whether words could be deviſed that would place the new government more preciſely in the ſame relation to the real creditors with the old? The power was the ſame; the objection was the ſame: the means only were varied.

An objection had been drawn from the article prohibiting *ex poſt facto* laws. But *ex poſt facto* laws relate to criminal, not civil caſes. The conſtitution itſelf requires this definition, by adding to a like reſtriction on the ſtates, an expreſs one againſt retroſpective laws of a civil nature.

It had been ſaid that foreigners had been led to purchaſe, by their faith in the article of the conſtitution relating to the public debts. He would anſwer this objection by a ſingle fact: foreigners had ſhewn by the market price in Europe, that they truſted the nature of the foreign debt more under the old government, than the nature of the domeſtic debt under the new government.

Objections to the meaſure had been drawn from its ſuppoſed tendency to impede public credit. He thought it, on the contrary, perfectly conſiſtent with the eſtabliſhment of public credit. It was in vain to ſay that government ought never to reviſe meaſures once decided. Great caution on this head ought, no doubt, to be obſerved: but there were ſituations in which, without ſome legiſlative interpoſition, the firſt principles of juſtice, and the very ends of civil ſociety, would be fruſtrated. The gentlemen themſelves had been compelled to make exceptions to the general doctrine: they would probably make more before the buſineſs was at an end.

It had been urged that if government ſhould interpoſe in the preſent caſe, an interpoſition would be authoriſed in any caſe whatever, where the ſtock might fluctuate; the principle would apply as well to a fall of 60 or 70 per cent. as to a fall of 600 or 700 per cent. He could not admit this inference. A diſtinction was eſſential between an extreme caſe and a caſe ſhort of it. The line was difficult to be drawn; but it was no more incumbent on him, than on his opponents, to draw it. They themſelves could not deny that a certain extremity of the evil would have juſtified the interpoſition. Suppoſe that the diſtreſs of the alienating creditors had been ten times as great as it was; that inſtead of 2, 3 or 4s. in the pound, they had received a farthing only in the pound; and that the certificates lay now in the hands of the purchaſers in that ſtate, or even at a leſs value: was there a member who would riſe up and ſay, that the purchaſers ought to be paid the entire nominal ſum, and the original ſufferer be entitled to no indemnification whatever?

Gentlemen had triumphed in the want of a precedent to the meaſure. No government, it was ſaid, had interpoſed to redreſs fluctuations in its public paper. But where was the government that had funded its debts under the circumſtances of the American debt? If no government had done ſo, there could be no precedent either for or againſt the meaſure, becauſe the occaſion itſelf was unprecedented. And if no ſimilar occaſion had before exiſted in any country, the precedent to be ſet would at leaſt be harmleſs, becauſe no ſimilar occaſion would be likely to happen in this.

If gentlemen perſiſted, however, in demanding precedents, he was happy in being able to gratify them with two, which, though not exactly parallel, were on that account of the greater force, ſince the interpoſitions of government had taken place where the emergency could leſs require them.

The firſt was the caſe of the Canada bills. During the war, which ended in 1763, and which was attended with a revolution in the government of Canada, the ſupplies obtained for the French army in that province were paid for in bills of exchange and certificates. This paper depreciated, and was bought up chiefly by Britiſh merchants. The ſum and the depreciation were ſo conſiderable, as to become a ſubject of negociation between France and Great Britain at the peace. The negociation produced a particular article; by which it was agreed by France that the paper ought to be redeemed, and admitted by Great Britain that it ſhould be redeemed at a liquidated value. In the year 1766 this article was accordingly carried into effect by miniſters from the two courts, who reduced the paper in the hands of the Britiſh holders, in ſome inſtances, as much as 75 per cent. below its nominal value. It was ſtated, indeed, by the reporters of the caſe, that the holders of the paper had themſelves concurred in the liquidation; but it was not probable that the concurrence was voluntary. If it was voluntary, it ſhews that they themſelves were ſenſible of the equity of the ſacrifice.

The other caſe was of ſtill greater weight, as it had no relation to war or to treaty, and took place in the nation which has been held up as a model with reſpect to public credit. In the year 1713, the civil liſt of Great Britain had fallen into arrears to the amount of 500,000l. The creditors who had furniſhed ſupplies to the government had, inſtead of money, received debentures only from the reſpective offices. Theſe had depreciated. In that ſtate, they were aſſigned in ſome inſtances; in others, covenanted to be aſſigned. When the parliament appropriated funds for ſatisfying theſe arrears they inſerted an expreſs proviſion in the act, that the creditors who had been obliged by the default of government to diſpoſe of their paper at a loſs, might redeem it from the aſſignees, by repaying the actual price with an intereſt of 6 per cent. and that all agreements and covenants to aſſign ſhould be abſolutely void. Here then was an interpoſition on the very principle, that a government ought to redreſs the wrongs, ſuſtained by its default, and on an occaſion trivial when compared with that under conſideration; yet it does not appear that the public credit of the nation was injured by it.

The beſt ſource of confidence in a government was the apparent honeſty of its views. The propoſition on the table could not poſſibly be aſcribed to any other motive than this, becauſe the public was not to gain a farthing by it. The next ſource was an experienced punctuality in the payments due from the government. For this ſupport to public credit, he relied on what had been experienced by a part of the foreign creditors; on the proviſion to be made for the reſidue; and the punctuality which he flattered himſelf would be obſerved in all future payments of the domeſtic creditors. He was more apprehenſive of injury to public credit from ſuch modifications of the intereſt of the public debt, as ſome gentlemen ſeemed to have in view. In theſe the public would be the gainer, and the plea of inability the more alarming; becauſe it was ſo eaſy to be ſet up, ſo difficult to be diſproved, and conſequently for which the temptations would be alluring.

The impracticability of the meaſure was the remaining ground on which it had been attacked. He did not deny that it would be attended with difficulties, and that perfect juſtice would not be done; but theſe were not the queſtions. It was ſufficient that a grievious injuſtice would be leſſened, and that the difficulties might be ſurmounted. What he had in view was that, for the conveniency of claimants, ſome authority ſhould be provided and properly diſtributed thro' the union, in order to inveſtigate and aſcertain the claims; and that for the ſecurity of the public, the burden of proof ſhould be thrown on the claimants. A ſcrutiny on this plan, aided by original ſettlements in the books of the army department, and the ſtate commiſſioners, and other office-documents, would be a remedy at once for all the difficulties ſtarted with regard to fictitious names, certificates iſſued as money by commiſſaries and quarter-maſters, due bills, &c.

For ſome particular caſes ſpecial proviſions might be requiſite. The caſe of loan-office certificates, alienated at early periods, before they were depreciated fell under this deſcription. Legacies might be another. He ſhould have no objection to ſome ſpecial regulation, as to the payments of debts in certificates to perſons within the Britiſh lines, ſaid to have been authoriſed by the laws of New-York; though he preſumed few ſuch payments had been made, and that of theſe few the greater part had by this time paſſed from the creditors into other hands. There might be a few other caſes equally entitled to ſome particular attention in the details of the proviſion. As to the merchants who had compounded for their debts in certificates, or perſons who had exchanged bonds for them, it could not be doubted that the tranſactions had reference to the market value of the paper, and therefore had nothing peculiar in them.

The expence incident to ſuch a plan of inveſtigation ought to form no difficulty. It bears no proportion to the expence already incurred by commiſſioners, &c. for effecting a leſs proportion of juſtice. Rather than juſtice ſhould not be done, the expence might be taken out of the portion to the original ſufferers

The danger of frauds and perjuries had been worked up into a formidable objection. If theſe had always been equally alarming, no proviſion could have ever been made for the diſcharge of public debts. He reminded the committee of the frauds and perjuries for which a door had been opened by the final ſettlements, &c. of the frauds and perjuries inſeparable from the collection of impoſt and exciſes: yet theſe were all ſubmitted to as neceſſary evils, becauſe juſtice could not be done without them. The frauds and perjuries incident to this ſupplementary proviſion for juſtice, muſt be very inconſiderable in number; and ſtill more ſo, when compared either with the object to be attained, or with the like evils already encountered in purſuit of a like object.

Great ingenuity and information had been exerted, by gentlemen on the other ſide, in raiſing difficulties: He was ſure that, after an adoption of the propoſition, the ſame exertion would be uſed in removing them, and with ſuch aid the idea of impracticability would vaniſh.

Mr. Lee: The gentlemen, he ſaid, who had argued againſt the propoſition of his colleague, ſeem to have reſorted to thoſe rules which are found neceſſary to regulate the intercourſe between man and man in civil ſociety, without regarding the great law of political aſſociations, which had for its object the ſafety and happineſs of every individual in the community. The end of government was certainly to accommodate all, and not to aggrandize a few; and every claſs of citizens ought to be regarded in the diſtribution of national juſtice. And nothing is more common in the hiſtory of the moſt virtuous and renowned republics, when brought into calamitous circumſtances, than to ſee this great law ſuperceding the forms eſtabliſhed to regulate civil intercourſe. Without ſuch exerciſes of power, juſtice could not have been done, nor the nation preſerved. And in ſuch a ſituation, no wiſe people will ever be bound by the ordinary maxims of government: So that he had no doubt of the right of the government to interfere on the preſent occaſion.

He alſo thought, that in all the deliberations of the Houſe, the nature of our government ſhould be attended to. It was the government of the people, and nothing like a coercive principle was to be found in it: In order therefore to render the adminiſtration ſalutary and honorable, our meaſures ſhould be calculated to meet the popular approbation. Paying taxes was a ſerious thing. And to induce a free people to pay taxes, they muſt be convinced of the neceſſity and equity of them. And if the propoſition on the table was calculated to reconcile the public mind to the requiſite degree of taxation, every claſs of the public creditors would probably be finally benefited by its adoption. If, on the contrary, our meaſures ſhould appear irreconcileable to the popular idea of equity and right, is it probable that they would meet with that hearty ſupport from the community, which, under our government, is eſſential to a proſperous adminiſtration of it. The general opinion of the people ſhould have its due weight in all our deliberations; and he believed that the calm and unbiaſſed expreſſion of the public mind, would be always found the beſt index of that which was juſt and politic. For his own part, he declared, that he had always been convinced of the equity of ſuch an arrangement as that propoſed by his colleague; but that he had conſidered doubts with regard to the practicability of ſuch a plan, which were not yet altogether removed. But this appeared to him by no means a ſufficient reaſon to prevent us from recognizing the principle. This would be a declaration to the world, and to our conſtituents, that we did not diſregard the great principles of natural equity; and if hereafter, on further inveſtigation, the plan ſhould be found impracticable, this would be a ſufficient juſtification to us for relinquiſhing it.

He concluded with obſerving, that he had been unexpectedly induced to appear on the floor, and had haſtily expreſſed ideas which were the ebullitions of the moment, and hoped that in future, the debate would be conducted without intimating, in the moſt remote degree, that any gentleman was influenced by unworthy motives. For his own part, when he entered the houſe, he conſidered himſelf as entering into a ſanctuary; and that every motive or paſſion, which had not for its object the public good, ſhould be left behind. He did not doubt that every gentleman took his ſeat here with ſimilar impreſſions; and expreſſed a hope, that the final reſult of their deliberations would be that which would contribute moſt to the national honor and advantage.

(To be continued.)

☞ *Our readers will pleaſe to incorporate the following correction in the ſpeech of the Hon. Mr. PAGE, inſerted in our laſt.——Mr. Page endeavored to ſhew, that Mr. Madiſon's motion did not deſerve the harſh expreſſions uſed againſt it by Mr. Ames; that ſo far from being an* infamous, unjuſt *propoſition, he thought his colleague might have ſaid, that ſhould Congreſs adopt it, they might, with a ſafe conſcience, ſtand before the tribunal, not merely of a ſuperior order of beings, but before the Great Judge of the whole Earth. Mr. Page ſaid nothing like threatning his opponents with* divine juſtice: *He only endeavored to moderate their zeal, and to juſtify his colleague's motion.*

MONDAY, MARCH 1.

Mr. Sumpter took his ſeat this day.

A meſſage was received from the Preſident of the United States, by the Secretary for the Department of War, with ſundry communications relating to the preſent ſituation, and proſpects of the Weſtern Frontiers in reſpect to the Indian Tribes.

Mr. Scot preſented a petition from ſundry inhabitants of Pennſylvania, holders of old paper money—this petition was lengthy, and entered into a particular diſcuſſion of the ſubject, ſtated the pretenſions of thoſe who are creditors of the United States in conſequence of holding this money, eſpecially ſuch as had been compelled to receive it by virtue of tender laws, and laying great ſtreſs on the ſpecific promiſe impreſſed on the face of the bills.—Laid on the table.

Sundry petitions and memorials were read and referred.

The bill for ſecuring to Francis Bailey, the excluſive right of uſing certain inventions in Typography, was read the ſecond time, and ordered to be engroſſed for a third reading to-morrow.

A reſolution of the Aſſembly of the State of South Carolina, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment of a military guard at Fort Johnſton, was read a ſecond time, and ordered to lie on the table.

In committee of the whole, on the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury.

The propoſition for aſſuming the State debts, and the amendments propoſed thereto, under conſideration.

Mr. Madiſon withdrew the motion he made on Friday: He then moved one to the following effect: That the amount of the debts actually paid by any State to its creditors ſince the day of ſhall be credited and paid to ſuch State on the ſame terms as ſhall be provided in the caſe of individuals.

Mr. Ames offered the following reſolutions, which he deſired might be laid on the table, to be taken up after the propoſitions under conſideration had been decided on.

Reſolved, that effectual proviſion be made for the ſettlement of accounts between the United States and individual States.

Reſolved, that in the ſaid ſettlement, the States reſpectively be charged with the advances to them ſeverally made by the United States, liquidated to ſpecie value, with intereſt thereon at the rate of ſix per cent. per annum, and that they be alſo charged with the amount of their reſpective debts (which with the conſent of the creditors ſhall have been aſſumed by the United States) with the intereſt thereon to the time from which intereſt ſhall be payable by the United States.

Reſolved, that in the ſaid ſettlement the ſaid States reſpectively be credited with all monies paid and ſupplies furniſhed to or for, and debts incurred on account of the United States, and in general with all expenditures whatſoever towards general or particular defence during the late war between the United States and Great Britain, with intereſt thereon at the rate of ſix per cent. per annum.

Reſolved, that the ſaid ſettlement be made under the direction of commiſſioners whoſe authority ſhall continue until the ſaid ſettlement ſhall be effected, and whoſe deciſions ſhall be final and concluſive upon the United States, and upon the ſeveral States.

Reſolved, that in caſe a ratio for adjuſting the contributions of the reſpective States ſhall not be preſcribed by Congreſs during the preſent ſeſſion, the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have full power to ſettle ſuch ratio, and ſhall alſo have power to determine in all other reſpects the principles of the ſaid ſettlement in conformity to theſe reſolutions.

Reſolved, that the ſeveral States may exhibit their claims againſt the United States until the —— day of —— next, but not afterwards; and that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, as ſoon as may be after the ſaid day, proceed to a final adjuſtment of the ſaid accounts, whether the whole of the claims of the reſpective States ſhall have been then exhibited or not.

No deciſion this day.

TUESDAY, MARCH 2.

The bill to ſecure to Francis Bailey the excluſive right to his inventions in typography, was brought in engroſſed, read the third time, and paſſed to be enacted.

A report from the Secretary of the Treaſury, containing an eſtimate of the appropriations neceſſary for the year 1790 was read—on motion of Mr. Page it was ordered that this report be printed for the uſe of the Houſe.

It was then moved that a committee of ways and means ſhould be appointed, and that this report ſhould be referred to that committee.

This motion occaſioned a conſiderable debate—in the courſe of it, Mr. White moved the following, in ſubſtance, viz. That the Secretary of the Treaſury ſhould be directed to aſcertain the reſources that may be applied to the payment of the State debts, ſhould they be aſſumed by the United States. The motion on this queſtion after conſiderable diſcuſſion was put, when the Houſe was equally divided—and the Speaker gave the caſting vote in favor of the motion.

The report of the Secretary of the Treaſury relative to appropriations was referred to the committee on appropriations.

Mr. Ames preſented a memorial from the manufacturers of cordage in the town of Boſton.

A petition of Abraham Skinner late Commiſſary General of priſoners, was read and laid on the table.

A memorial of George Scriba, in behalf of himſelf and others, containing a propoſal for purchaſing a tract of land in the weſtern territory, of not leſs than 3 or more than 4 millions of acres—at the rate of 20 cents per acre, was read and referred to the Secretary of the Treaſury.

Mr. Stone introduced the following reſolution, which was adopted, viz. That the Secretary of the Treaſury be directed to lay before the Houſe the amount of the impoſt and tonnage received in the ſeveral States, from the commencement of the collection to the 31ſt December laſt.

In committee of the whole Houſe, on the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury—the aſſumption of the State debts under conſideration; Mr. Madiſon's amendments to the original propoſition being read, the debate was renewed—His laſt propoſition, viz. That the amount of the debts actually paid by any State to its creditors ſince the —— day of —— ſhall be credited and paid to ſuch State on the ſame terms as ſhall be provided in the caſe of individuals—Mr. Smith (S. C.) moved ſhould be amended, by inſerting the words *principal and intereſt*—which after ſome debate was carried in the affirmative.

The queſtion on this amendment, as thus amended, being taken, was negatived.

The committee then roſe—and the Houſe adjourned.

FROM THE CONNECTICUT JOURNAL.

MESSRS PRINTERS.

THE writer, who, in your laſt paper, attempted to ridicule the pompous account of the Weſtern Territory, has dealt ſo much between jeſt and earneſt, that one is in the event at a loſs for his object.

Your readers may be pleaſed with a fine picture, even though it have no original in nature, but when the proportions are horrid and impoſſible, they muſt be diſguſting—Theſe anecdotes might figure among the Arabian Night's Entertainment—but among us can never be entitled to a ſymptom of credibility.

When Dives was in torment, he kindly ſent to his brethren to ſhift their courſe—happy for us, if the deſperate ſettlers of the Georgian Territory were as humanely diſpoſed.

To people acquainted with new countries I need only obſerve, that with all poſſible advantages from nature, the firſt ſettlers muſt have a Benjamin's meſs of the curſe of Adam, before they can receive the fruit of their labours.

Deprived of the bleſſings of neighbourhood and ſocial intercourſe, at a diſtance from markets, in conſtant fear from ſavages, they may pick ſtrawberries larger than thoſe of Chili—may reflect that in the latitude of their lands lie many delightful countries on the other Continent—Their imagination may repreſent, Age reſuming Youth—all the Seaſons reſolved into one eternal Spring—the waters of a modern Betheſda, healing with a preter chriſtian rapidity—the moſt painful diſorders flying at the firſt draught—rivers clear as chryſtal ſtocked with all kind of fiſh—they may conceive of trees reaching far above the atmoſphere, with diameters like the planet Mars—theſe bearing ſpontaneouſly, all manner of fruits, in abundance, tranſcending calculation—A ſecond and much improved edition of Eden may pleaſe their mendacious fancies, but call theſe poor wretched beings to their bitter, barren reality.

Alas! "The apprehenſion of the good gives but
"the greater feelings to the worſe;—
"Who can hold a fire in his hand by think-
"ing on the froſty Caucaſus? or cloy the
"hungry edge of appetite by bare imagi-
"nation of a feaſt—"

Theſe raging accounts have been foiſted into public notice by the emiſſaries of land jobbers—

these men have bought the lands at a very small price, and are very much disposed to get your valuable farms in exchange for them. Various insidious arts have been employed to ensnare and betray the unwary.—Let me counsel you my countrymen, to stay at home, content with that support which honest industry will secure to you in any populated part of the United States.

Your emigration to these lands will be as injurious to your country, as emigration to another Planet. In a political view, these lands may perhaps, be made productive of money, if sold abroad, and reserved for foreign emigrants—but in a commercial and agricultural view, they are, at this moment, very injurious—they open a resort for all who would escape from debt and from industry—they weaken the effect of penal laws throughout the Union, by receiving and protecting their just victims. There no law reaches, no curse descends—but in lieu of them a complication of miseries necessarily attendant on settlers in a new territory.—Convinced I am, that if those lands were overflowed by the lakes—or sunk in the ocean—or turned into a desert—we should be a richer people.

On the subject of the immense compliments to our Western Territory, I pledge myself, (if fairly challenged, under this signature,) to prove, that the accounts have been, for the most part, absolutely false and insidious. Stay, then, my countrymen, in your honest callings, and never be caught, standing like Shakespeare's blacksmith, with suspended hammer, and out-stretch'd mouth, swallowing a taylor's news.

A REPUBLICAN.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

THE critical moment is at hand. Whether the new government will stand or fall: Whether the United States will rise into respectability, or sink into contempt, will be decided, when the question, respecting public credit, shall be determined. If justice and true policy shall appear among the leading features of this all important determination, our government will obtain energy, our legislators merit the confidence of their constituents, and the people be happy. But should this not be the case, the laws of Congress will be treated like the creatures of a day, and its members appear only as cyphers. I do not wish a government that is not founded in justice; and I am sure we shall have no other to continue long, except it be in tyranny.

I would be far from impeaching the worthy character of the Secretary of the Treasury: It would be with reluctance, should I disapprove the plan contained in his report, in which he has displayed so much ingenuity. But I wish to make some remarks upon letter-writers and correspondents who seem to applaud his plan.—It is applauded, because it probably cost him much labor; and it is the performance of one in whose abilities and fidelity we have reason to confide. But we have a right to call to mind, that the author of the report is one who is not wholly exempted from the common imperfections of human nature. It is possible that he should err.

By whom a letter-writer is authorised to say, That the public creditors will be content with receiving an interest of 4 per cent. when they loaned their money to the States upon condition of receiving 6 per cent.—or how he can say that they have expected no more, I am not able to conceive. I know that some of the public creditors will not be content with this: I have not heard one say, that he would be content with it. Money *is* let, and has been, and *will be* let at an interest of 6 per cent. Is it not rare patriotism that inclines a man to let his money at a less interest to the States than to his neighbors?

I think the present servants of the public, do not serve the States for less wages than they would serve individuals. When we loaned our money to the States, we might have loaned it to private persons at 6 per cent. and continued it so to this time, and as much longer as we please. How then is it rational to conclude that the creditors of the public will be content to receive only an interest of 4 per cent. upon those obligations which solemnly promise 6? I believe that if Congress propose this, and they consent to it, it will be because they think they can do no better with the *ultima lex regum*.

Would Congress know whether the public creditors are willing to continue their money in the loan, or subscribe to the new projected fund, at an interest of 4 per cent. let them make a fair trial. Let them offer full payment of principal and interest already arisen, in real specie, and say, will you accept it, or continue your property in the loan at 4 per cent.? Unless the public debt be continued upon an interest of 6 per cent. and provision made for the annual payment of it, I shall not view the foundation of our government as laid in justice: Except the consent of the public creditors to a lower interest is obtained in the manner just mentioned, or some other as fair. That the States have any right to depart from an original contract made with any of their subjects, without the consent of the subject fairly obtained, is, for me, as difficult to understand, as that either party, in a private contract, has a right to make alterations without the consent of the other. If the States can make a saving of interest in a manner that is just and fair, let them do it; but in any other manner it ought to be reprobated.

The letter-writer further observes, that only 4 per cent. interest is within the compass of the ability of the United States. This I deem a mistake in him, and a falsehood in fact. The States are not yet reduced to bankruptcy, They are not under the necessity of compounding with their creditors at one third discount. Let not an idea, so false, and so ruinous to our credit be suggested or cherished. To be sure, if the States are not able to pay any more than two thirds of the interest they owe, the creditors who are but a small part of the States are not able to lose one third. They must bear a part in paying this two thirds, at the same time they must lose one third, and no body to bear a part with them.

I do not suppose the letter-writer means that there is not property or resources enough in the States to pay their debts honestly, but it will be too heavy: If they be really able, it will be more pinching than they can bear. I hope we are not so destitute of virtue yet. The creditors may be able to lose a part of their dues, but will it not be heavy and pinching to them? Were power upon their side, they might say with a like positive air—It is too heavy for us. If they are deprived of one third of their interest, they are deprived of one third of their principal too. Certainly if 300 dollars draws no more interest in the public funds than 200 in a private fund, it is worth no more than 200, it will sell for no more. Is not this too heavy upon the creditors? If any suppose that in years to come interest will be no more than 4 per cent. in common through the States: Yet let us wait till that time: It will then be soon enough to reduce the interest of the public fund: The creditors will then be willing for it. That period is no doubt ages distant from us. In such a new and extensive country as this, there are, and for a long time will be, ways for people to dispose of their money to a greater advantage, than letting it even at 6 per cent. I need only mention the encreasing value of lands.

If the people will not bear a burden heavy enough to do justice, let us know it. If their character is known, future generations will not be deceived and cheated as the present has been. Should this sentiment be declared and patronized, that the States are not able to do justice to their creditors, it would give as fatal a blow to public credit as the want of justice. I think my neighbors as unwilling to trust a man whom they suppose unable to pay them again, except in part, as they are one who is able, but unwiling, till compelled to it by law. I fear the States will never be able to obtain another loan, if once they shall by any means reduce their creditors to a necessity of accepting a less rate of interest than was originally agreed upon. For what they do now may be done again. This will stand as a precedent. The character which they get fixed upon themselves now, will probably be imputed to them for a long succession of generations.

If the States think they pay too high interest, or could borrow at less, let them do as a prudent subject would in such a case, pay up their former loan and contract a new one. Should any say, this is not a fair proposal, because it is what they cannot do—the present state of our treasury is not sufficient for such a thing: I answer, let them get the money into the treasury by opening a new loan. Let them, by advertisements through the States, desire the monied subjects to deposit their money in a public fund at 4 per cent. interest, and with the money thus obtained, pay off the obligations which have been given at 6 per cent. If money cannot be thus obtained, it will prove that monied men can do better with their money; and if so, it proves it unjust and impolitic to reduce the public creditors to the necessity of taking less than 6 per cent.

Why this class of citizens should be called to make a sacrifice to the public, or why it should be expected from them I know not. They have suffered as much during the war, in other ways, as any class of people; they have for many years suffered beyond others, by having no interest paid them, or that which in value has been next to none. I believe them not behind others in patriotism: but it seems to me they are the last class of citizens that should be called to make so great a sacrifice; They have been not only the nominal but actual friends of their country in the time of her greatest necessities. There could be much better argumenes produced in favor of an advanced interest than of a reduced one; but let justice take place, I ask no more.

A CONNECTICUT MAN.

BY AUTHORITY.

PROCLAMATION *of the* KING *of FRANCE*,

For granting Bounties on the importation of Grain.

NOVEMBER 5th, 1789.

THE King being informed that in many of the Ports of his Kingdom, the merchants would be disposed to import foreign grain, if they could expect to receive the like Bounties as were granted until the first of September last; His Majesty being desirous to induce the merchants to pursue measures so conducive to the supplying his people with provisions, has thought proper to grant this Encouragement: His Majesty has therefore ordained, and does ordain as follows.

ARTICLE I.

That there shall be paid to all French and Foreign Merchants, who from the 1st December, 1789, to the 1st July, 1790, shall import Wheat, Rye and Barley, and the Flour thereof, from the different Ports of Europe, or of the United States of America, the following Bounties, viz. *thirty sous* per quintal on Wheat—*forty sous* per quintal on Wheat Flour—*twenty-four sous* per quintal on Rye—*thirty-two sous* per quintal on Rye Flour—*twenty sous* per quintal on Barley, and *twenty-seven sous* per quintal on Barley Flour.

II.

The said Bounties shall be paid by the Receivers of the Farm-Duties in the Ports of the Kingdom, where the said Grain and Flour shall arrive, on the Declarations furnished by the Captains of the Vessels, who shall be bound to annex thereto a legal copy of the Bill of Lading of their cargo.

III.

All the Vessels indiscriminately, which, during the space of time above specified, shall import into the Kingdom Wheat and Flour, coming from the different Ports of Europe, and those of the United States of America, shall be exempt from the Duty of Freight, on account of the said importations. His Majesty enjoins the persons employed in the Farms to conform to, and carry in to execution the present Proclamation, which shall be read, published, &c.

Done at Paris, the fifth of November, 1789.

[SIGNED] DE SAINT PRIEST.

LONDON, December, 31.

Extract of a letter from Rome, Nov. 21.

"Yesterday morning a courier arrived from Bologna, with news of the death of the Duchess of Albany, natural daughter of the late Pretender, who sent for her from France some time before his death, and had her legitimated. Her complaint was an abscess in the side, and is attributed to a fall from her horse some time before she left France. She was the last direct descendant (if a natural child can be so called) of the Stuarts, except the Cardinal of York; who since his brother's death has assumed the title of Henry IX."

The patriotic furor of freedom which so highly dignifies the present period, has at length extended to the British islands of Jersey and Guernsey; in both of which the standard of liberty is erected. The points resolved upon are grand juries, trials by juries, and an abolition of appeal and jurisdiction. The friends of government have strenuously endeavored to oppose those resolutions, but the patriots carried them by a prodigious majority.

The loss sustained by the Grand Vizier in the action with Prince Potemkin, is about 20,000 men, most of whom were drowned; the Reis Effendi and many principal officers were among them.

At Rome, the middle of November last, the weather suddenly became so cold, that the inhabitants were obliged to button themselves in their great coats. A circumstance so unusual in those climates, may lead to a conjecture, that the rivers which are described by the Roman Poets to have been frozen over in the day of Augustus, may shortly exhibit the same phænomenon.

A detachment from the Russian grand fleet in the Norto passed the Streights of Gibraltar on the 23d ult.

A patent has just passed the Great Seal to a Mr. Hancock for a most valuable invention: It is a portable, compact machine, for winnowing and cleaning all sorts of corn. It will do eight quarters in an hour ready for the market, prevents all waste, and gives the Corn a lighter colour than the usual mode.

THE TABLET.

No. XCIII.

"It is a difficult task to get above a desire of being applauded for things that should be wholly indifferent.

THERE is no circumstance in the conduct of a person that requires more discretion, than to regulate that part of conversation which relates to himself. The love of commendation is so strong in the minds of most men, that it often tempts them to praise their own qualities or actions. Though applause which one bestows on himself may denote vanity, it is no mark of a perverse disposition, unless the things which he applauds, are such as deserve censure, rather than praise. I am apt to believe, that when a person is left to the necessity, either of speaking in his own commendaton, or of having nothing commendable said of him, that he will be vain of qualifications that are vicious or useless.

What are we to think of a person who takes a pride in boasting that he can drink a greater quantity of wine than any of his acquaintance without intoxication? It is natural to infer, that he wishes applause, and that as he is not conscious of any real merit, he had rather be remarkable for vice or folly, than not to be distinguished at all. A person likewise who is vain of any peculiarity of dress or manners, shews a desire to be applauded for things, about which he should be indifferent. Few men are capable of regulating their love of applause in such a manner, as not sometimes to doat upon trifling qualifications; and to seek commendation in points, which prudence would direct them to conceal. But we should be on our guard against the fascinating influence of admiration, or it may lead us into actions that may lessen our character in the view of those, whose esteem and approbation are most to be valued.

NEW-YORK, MARCH 3.

FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

When it is considered how highly the public expectations were raised at the adoption of the New Constitution—and how greatly those expectations have been realized in the administration of the government thus far, a doubt cannot be entertained respecting the adoption of such measures in future, as will ensure the most essential object, the establishment of the PUBLIC CREDIT. As a leading step to this great event, every national and patriotic motive, concurs to enforce the assumption of the State Debts. This will prove a most important link in the chain of our Federal Union—and which, if not done, will be a dereliction of the interest of a very respectable class of the most distinguished Patriots of our Country.

Local politics were universally decried but a short time since, as the disgrace and curse of our country—all the members of our present enlightened *National Legislature*, in all their deliberations on the great questions that come before them, especially those relating to FINANCE, discover minds superior to all selfish, State attatchments. So that the interests of *all*, appear to be equally dear to *all*. When this is the case, how glorious is the prospect of our country!

"A chain of *self interest* is no better than a *rope of sand*. There is no *cement*, nor *cohesion* between the parts—there is rather a mutual *antipathy* and *repulsion*—hence we see this chain is always ready to fall in pieces, and on any sudden concussion to break into an infinity of factions."

"When this comes to be the case with a community, we find that no public measure, however salutary, can be carried into effect, if it clash with any foreseen particular interest." *Brown's Estimate.*

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LETTER.——No. IV.

MR. FENNO,

IN my laſt I have ſtated the example of blacks, who intermarried by force of conqueſt with two European nations—happy was it for the conquered, that their colour only changed on this account—however as we all admit full blood, three quarters, and half blood, in our hounds and horſes—it will not appear a paradox, if I lay it down as a general rule, that when in animated nature higher orders intermix with lower ones, the original character is gradually debaſed, and finally loſt; this leads me to an examination of what would happen if negroes were made freemen, living among us.

Different notions have been held on the manumiſſion of negroes—let us ſelect one, and ſuppoſe that it was granted on all ſides, that the children of the ſlaves which will be born the next year, are to be free. As the law can, I believe, make no difference between citizens of the empire, of what colour they may be, a gradual intermarriage of the whites and blacks will happen of courſe: Where is, among our citizens, the mother of a family bleſſed with beautiful daughters, who will not ſhudder when ſhe thinks, that there might be only a probability, that her great grand daughters will have black muzzles and crooked figures; moreover this is but the ſmalleſt part of the bitter fruits with which black citizenſhip would be pregnant—it would be uncloſing Pandora's box.

Although I believe that the new black citizen would feel grateful for his manumiſſion, yet this ſentiment will ſoon ſubſide, and be fully extinguiſhed in the next generation; the difference in corporal and intellectual qualities would be felt by the black, the conſciouſneſs of his inferiority would extinguiſh gratitude, and jealouſy would be his prevailing paſſion—ſhould any invaſion happen, the enemy would purchaſe the blacks on eaſy terms, and without any foreign attack this jealouſy would have the moſt fatal effects, and cauſe conſtant diſturbances in the empire; tranquility would fly from Columbia, and not be re-eſtabliſhed until intermarriage had dyed the nation nearly one and the ſame colour! But then the original character of the nation will only ſtand recorded in the hiſtoric page, when it ſpeaks of the times of their anceſtors becoming renowned in the annals of mankind by repelling tyranny, and aſſuming their independency with ſpirit; when by gigantic ſtrides they roſe into conſequence, and outſhone even their originals in arms, in ſciences and arts—when they crowned the liberty of the citizen by a uniform federal government: then genius was a native of this happy ſoil—and the foreigner gloried to be an American freeman. RUSTICUS.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

I AM a *ſheep-hairy* negro, the ſon of an African man and woman; by a train of fortunate events I was left free, when very young, and by the interpoſition of the moſt generous of mankind, I have received a common Engliſh ſchool education, and have been inſtructed in the chriſtian religion—I am maſter of a trade whereby I get a comfortable living: My leiſure time I employ in reading, it is my delight, and I am encouraged by ſeveral *ſpirited, noble and generous American freemen*, who are pleaſed to praiſe me for employing my time ſo much more rationally (as they ſay) than moſt of the white men who are in the ſame ſtation of life that I am: And do not conſider me as the link in the creation by which the monkey hangs to the gentleman. I eſteem it among the bleſſings of my ſituation, that by my induſtry as a tradeſman, I am enabled to purchaſe your intereſting publication, and by my aſſiduity as a ſtudent I am enabled to read it with profit: But I fear all my application has not made me equal to the taſk I have undertaken, of penning a letter, which ſhall appear to you worthy of a place in your next number; the arduous taſk of appearing as an opponent to the philoſophic Ruſticus.—

Had this *philoſopher* advanced any thing new I ſhould not dare to ſtep forward; but to his preſent hackney'd theme, I ſhall oppoſe the arguments of ſuch as have written againſt the idea of *our* inferior nature, particularly Mr. Clarkſon:

The philoſopher's chain is a ruſty affair; I ſhall take little notice of his bulls and wild ducks—I would willingly come to the point: Ruſticus goes upon the principle which Lord Kaims labored very hard to eſtabliſh, that the variety of colour, features, &c. in the human ſpecies, proved them to be derived from various ſtocks, and not as the *old faſhioned erroneous ſcriptures* aſſert, all the deſcendants of Adam. His next is the principle of links—in which if I miſtake not his idea—he and his brethren of European extraction, ſtand or hang inferior to none but angels—to them follow the other nations of the earth.—As, effeminate Aſiatics—long haired ſavages of America—ſheep-hairy Africans—Africans with *wolfes muzzles*—and next I ſuppoſe the various kinds of the monkey, &c. &c.—Now if I can prove by the aſſiſtance aforementioned, that the firſt is a falſe principle, and that Europeans, Aſiatics, Americans and Africans are all the deſcendants of Noah—The ſecond principle will fall of courſe, at leaſt ſo far, that becauſe I have a black ſkin (tho by the by my ſkin is already whiter than my father's was) flat noſe, thick lips and ſheep-hair, I ſhall not be hook'd on at the lower end of the chain of human beings.

It is really amuſing, not to ſay laughable, to ſee with what eagerneſs Lord Kaims purſues his favorite *diſcriminating plan*: I will inſtance one of his proofs *that there are different ſpecies of men by nature totally diſtinct from each other*. "The Giagas" ſays this great critic "a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa" (only notice what a fruitful and convenient ſoil Africa is for monſters) "are in effect land pirates at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy, but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chuſe in their ſtead the moſt promiſing children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to their offſpring: Suppoſing the Giagas to be born without hands or feet, would they be more diſtinguiſhable from the reſt of mankind?"—So blindly did the Author of the *elements of criticiſm* purſue his favorite ſyſtem, that he never conſidered that if the Giagas deſtroyed all their children, and adopted the children of various ſtrange nations, of courſe this diſtinct ſpecies of men were extinct after the firſt generation, and all the various nations that they incorporated with themſelves, were preciſely of the ſame extraordinary, diſtinct and monſtrous nature.—So idle are the ſpeculations of the wiſeſt men when they wander from the pure light of reaſon and religion.

I ſhall now bring forward in as conciſe a manner as poſſible, a few of the arguments made uſe of by Mr. Clarkſon, in oppoſition to the main principle of Ruſticus.

The firſt argument by which it is attempted to be proved "that the Africans are an inferior link in the chain of nature," is the ſuppoſed inferiority of their capacities—The argument is ſo weak it does not deſerve notice, neither would it become me.—The ſecond is drawn from color and featutes, nay, "even the hair of their heads is brought into the account"—My parents born in Africa, have not the white ſkin, the roſy cheek, the prominant noſe and black teeth of Ruſticus, therefore are not only a diſtinct, but an inferior ſpecies of animal: The worthy author before me (Mr. Clarkſon) ſays "It is an univerſal law, obſervable throughout the whole creation *that if two animals of a different ſpecies propagate, their offſpring is unable to continue its own ſpecies*. By this admirable law, the different ſpecies are preſerved diſtinct. Now if we apply this law to thoſe of the human kind, who are ſaid to be of a diſtinct ſpecies from each other, it immediately fails. The mulatto is as capable of continuing his ſpecies as his father; a clear and irrefragable proof that the ſcripture account of the creation is true, and that "God, who hath made the world, hath made of one blood all the nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth." This law of nature will not ſuit Ruſticus—who ſays, "nature goes not from one ſpecies of animal abruptly to the next: There are beings who ſeparate one ſort from the other and partake in their form and habit ſomething of both; theſe I call intermediate beings"—Nature knows no ſuch intermediate beings—the animals Ruſticus enumerates (ſuch of them as we know to exiſt) are diſtinct ſpecies of animals, and are divided by the above mentioned law.

If mankind are from one ſtock they conſequently had but one colour, and was that white? No—We have every reaſon to believe that it was a dark olive.—Then is Ruſticus as far from the original colour as I am. It will now be aſked what has cauſed the various appearances of men at preſent—I anſwer from my book "a co-operation of certain cauſes, which have an effect upon the human frame, and have the power of changing it more or leſs from its primitive appearance, as they are more or leſs numerous or powerful than thoſe, which acted upon the frame of man in the firſt ſeat of his habitation."—Climate appears to have the principal ſhare in the variety of colour—Anatomical experiments have eſtabliſhed it as fact, that the ſeat of colour is the *corpus mucoſum*, which is found to vary with the climate throughout the world.

I muſt refer my reader to Mr. Clarkſon's eſſay on the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies for a ſtatement of facts, and arguments that will remove every doubt on this ſubject, and convince him that our colour is no proof that we are an inferior link in the great chain of creation.

I fear I have already made my letter too long—I hope Mr. Fenno will correct my inaccuracy (if he thinks my attempt to vindicate thoſe of my colour fit for the public eye) and excuſe my artleſs arrangement of my ſubject.—I will conclude by anſwering the laſt queſtion of Ruſticus. No human law can by intermixing ſpecies overthrow the fixed order of nature—but the American and the African are one ſpecies—The law of nature declares it—And I, a ſheep-hairy African negro, being free and in ſome degree enlightened, feel myſelf equal to the duties of a ſpirited, noble, and generous American freeman. AFRICANUS.

LATE EUROPEAN NEWS.

SPAIN.

ESCURIAL, Nov. 9.

His Catholic Majeſty went on Thurſday laſt to Madrid, to diſmiſs the Cortes according to the uſual form.

Nov. 16. His Catholic Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, on the 12th inſt. the civil promotions made on the occaſion of his coronation, the publication of which was deferred till the Cortes had finiſhed their deliberations. Each of the Members of that Aſſembly, which conſiſted of ſeventy-four perſons, has received a mark of the Catholic King's favor, according to his rank. Amonſt other numerous promotions, are, the creation of eight grandees of Spain, nine honorary grandees, five knights of the golden fleece, one of whom is M. de Norohna, the Portugueſe Ambaſſador here, ten knights of the great croſs of Charles III. two counſellors and four honorary counſellors of ſtate, and twenty-two chamberlains.

LONDON, Dec. 31.

The official account of the capture of Bruſſels, publiſhed by the Patriots, is as under. It is dated the 12th of December.

"At length, notwithſtanding the armiſtice, and every other pretence, 500 brave Patriots of Bruſſels have dared to engage in battle with 6000 Auſtrains. The action commenced yeſterday afternoon, at four o'clock. The firſt attenpt was to make priſoners of all the ſoldiers who guarded the Mint, and thoſe who were quartered in the different converts. General D'Alton did his utmoſt from ſix o'clock in the morning to negociate an armiſtice. About ſeven o'clock, 800 men of Benden-D'Aloſt entered the city with two pieces of cannon, which they planted on the Grand Palace. About ten o'clock General D'Alton thought proper to ſend a large detatchment in order to releaſe, by forcible means, the officers and privates made priſoners in the Baſſeville. This was the ſignal for a new engagement, which will be ever memorable for its victory. The Patriots no longer able to contain themſelves, routed the whole detatchment. To the number of 500, at the utmoſt, they inveſted the great market, and after a moſt obſtinate conflict, they made themſelves maſters of the Coros de Garde, and two pieces of cannon, and took about 400 Auſtrians priſoners. About the ſame time the engagement re-commenced in all quarters of the city; and, in leſs than two hours, the Patriots made themſelves maſter of the barracks of the military and of the magazines, in which they found near 2,000 muſkets, beſides cartridges, ammunition, &c. Towards noon, they attacked the Park and the Palace Royale, where the greateſt body of troops were concentered, with 12 pieces or cannon. After a very heavy firing on both ſides, D'Alton perceiving that the place was no longer tenable againſt ſo much bravery, capitulated for the immediate retreat of his whole gerriſon; and the requeſt having been acceded to, about one o'clock they departed, with great precipitation, through the Porte de Namur. But as all the ſoldiers are not equally inclined to follow him, at the moment this is writing, they are ſquabbling among themſelves, without the city. Already, we have got more than 3,000 priſoners; but a few killed, and no houſes plundered.

Authenticitatem teſtor, (Signed)
G. B. A. SCHELLEKENS, GREFFIER."

The ſlave trade is aboliſhed in Bengal. Lord Cornwallis has juſt iſſued a proclamation, and which has been publiſhed in the different languages of the country, declaring, that all perſons who may hereafter be found, either directly or indirectly, concerned therein, ſhall be proſecuted in the Supreme Court. A reward of 100 Sicca rupees is offered in the proclamation, and fifty rupees more for every perſon delivered from ſlavery or confinement by the diſcovery.

WHITEHALL, Dec, 19.

The King has been pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint Thomas M'Donough, Eſq, to be his Majeſty's Conſul in the ſtates of Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut and New-Hampſhire.

The King has alſo been pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint John Hamilton, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Conſul in the ſtate of Virginia.

ANECDOTE.

WHEN the late Doctor ROCK, of facetious memory, uſed to publiſh his medicines in the mountebank ſtyle, and was once extolling their virtues on Tower-Hill, he obſerved a *Porter*, who had attracted part of his audience to a ſeparate circle—This not being very agreeable to the phyſical orator, he enquired what the fellow was doing? "Why, Doctor," ſaid one of the croud, "he tells us he remembers the time when you "was a *porter* as well as himſelf."—"It is very "true," replied ROCK, "but you ſee *he* is a PORTER ſtill!"

☞ *Wanted by the Editor of this paper, a Houſe that will accommodate a large family, and the printing buſineſs—from the firſt of May next.*

WILLIAM TAYLOR,

Has for Sale, at his EAST-INDIA GOODS STORE,
No. 4, BURLING-SLIP,

A General Aſſortment of EAST-INDIA GOODS.

Among which are the following Articles:

BOOK Muſlins 8-4 6-4 5-4	HUMHUMS,
Jackonet do.	Long Cloths,
Hankerchiefs, of various kinds,	Caſſas,
Chintzes,	Seerſuckers,
Ginghams,	Boglapores.

A Variety of handſome painted MUSLINS.

With many other Articles, which will be ſold by the Piece or Package, low for caſh.

And a few pair large handſome Cotton COUNTERPANES, much warmer than Blankets.

JANUARY 9, 1790. t. f.

To be LET,

And poſſeſſion given the 1ſt of April, for one or more years, (two miles and half from this city, on the Greenwich road,)

THAT New TWO STORY HOUSE—four Rooms on a floor; with ſix fire places; a new Barn, and Well of excellent Water; a young Orchard of Fruit Trees, with 7½ acres of Land, the moſt part Meadow. For particulars enquire at No. 7, Maiden-Lane. *New-York, February 20.*